

La différence est grande avec les deux autres pratiques étudiées : les martyrs et surtout leur exaltation par les communautés chrétiennes ont bien modifié la société en imposant de nouvelles valeurs, avec un discours collectif cohérent et bien attesté qui n'est « folie » que dans le contre-discours païen, bientôt surmonté ; on y cherchera en vain une ambiguïté aussi fondamentale et irréductible que pour le *salos*. Le mouvement de l'ascèse monastique a de même créé de nouvelles pratiques sociales par un discours cohérent où la seule vraie ambiguïté (bien connue depuis des décennies) est que les ascètes se retirent ostensiblement du monde tout en gardant une forte influence sur celui-ci. Dans ces deux cas apparaissent des catégories sociales nouvelles assez bien définies, tandis que les *saloi* n'en forment ou n'en créent aucune, qu'ils ne sont qu'une succession de cas individuels singuliers et que pour beaucoup d'entre eux on se demande à juste titre si ce sont bien de « vrais » *saloi* — sans pouvoir donner de réponse claire à cette question, parce qu'il s'agit d'une catégorie limite surtout utopique, essentiellement peuplée d'êtres fictifs dans des histoires édifiantes, qui fascine d'autant plus qu'elle a moins de réalité concrète.

Le cas limite du *salos* est plein de potentialités pour comprendre une forme d'autoreprésentation de la société byzantine, mais on ne peut l'aborder sans tenir compte de l'énorme ampleur de la construction hagiographique dans ces figures : les problématiques très intéressantes de ce livre qui donne à réfléchir devront être réexaminées en ce sens.

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RUDIN, Ronald – *Kouchibouguac: Removal, Resistance, and Remembrance at a Canadian National Park*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016. Pp. 383.

The creation of Kouchibouguac National Park in Kent County, New Brunswick, in the 1970s led to the removal of 1,200 local residents, the largest such dislocation in the history of Canada's national parks. The story gained national attention in large part because of resident Jackie Vautour's high-profile and militant refusal to vacate his land, where he remains to this day.

In this well-written and well-researched study, Ronald Rudin explores why and how the relocation took place, how some residents resisted removal, and how people have interpreted and remembered the story over time. In doing so, he makes two main arguments. First, the best way to explain the state's management of park development and its relocation of residents is in terms of what anthropologist James C. Scott has described as "high modernism." Believing in state planning and accepting modernist assumptions about what constituted the "good life," government officials were unable to see or account for local subsistence strategies and dismissed the value of community structures and local knowledge. The resulting plan for relocation and rehabilitation ignored community input and led, in some

cases, to considerable local resistance. Second, Rudin shows how Vautour and a new generation of Acadian activists and artists transformed the Kouchibouguac story from one of poor people forced off their lands to one of Acadian resistance to a “second deportation.” By looking closely at the residents and their stories, he shows a more complex reality. Not only were there many anglophones among the expropriates but most residents relocated peacefully, though reluctantly. The first part of *Kouchibouguac* examines the origin of the park and the implementation of the relocation process. Louis Robichaud, Liberal premier during the period 1960-70 hailed from Kent County and played a key role in convincing Ottawa to build the park in what was widely viewed as a poor region. Planners arbitrarily established park boundaries, ignoring the people who lived there and the resources they used. Adapting the Yellowstone model of park creation, which held that true wilderness was devoid of human presence, the planners insisted on relocating residents and prohibiting commercial use of resources. Relocation also allowed state planners to embark on a short-lived high-modernist social-engineering project to “rehabilitate” the expropriates. Informed by a series of “expert” studies that found “social disintegration” and poverty in local communities, they sent home economists and used social-animation techniques to convince residents to embrace modernity and relocation.

Rudin then explores two examples of resistance and reshaping of state plans through existing community organizations (which experts had dismissed as ineffective) and a state-funded Regional Development Committee that morphed from a vehicle to promote modernization and relocation into a forceful and effective voice for the residents. The first example is the occupation and barricading of park offices, which led to better compensation packages for full- and part-time fishers and, in some cases, continuing access to the resource. The second is Vautour’s high-profile campaign to remain on his land. After his house was bulldozed in 1976, Vautour came to symbolize the plight of all expropriates, transforming relocation into Acadian resistance. Rudin portrays Vautour as a complex figure, variously a hero, a victim, a calculating and sophisticated manipulator, and a bully. Equally complex is the response of other residents, some of whom embraced Vautour’s militancy while others were clearly uncomfortable with it. Particularly fascinating is the book’s final part explores how the artistic portrayal of Kouchibouguac has evolved over time. Except for the eponymous National Film Board production of 1978 that, due to “Québécois imperialism” within the film board, portrayed the relocation story largely in linguistic terms, early plays, poems, books, and songs situated the story in the Acadian-deportation narrative and celebrated a new spirit of Acadian resistance exemplified by Vautour. The relocation—and Vautour’s story in particular—thus became part of the Acadian renaissance of this period. More recently, however, artistic works have presented a more nuanced story, showing Vautour as a complicated person and the expropriates’ experience as diverse. Rudin sees this as part of a larger, ongoing reconciliation process one can glimpse in a new exhibition (with federal support) at Kouchibouguac that tells the stories of the relocated communities. This new, discursive element adds a

welcome dimension to a book that could easily have dealt with the history only of the interventionist state or of social resistance.

Rudin's sympathy for the former residents is explicit, and, in telling their story, he inserts himself into the narrative as an interviewer, observer, and sometime-guide through the expropriated lands that now compose the park. He effectively uses oral interviews and earlier photographs of properties to tell the residents' stories. (An accompanying website contains interviews with some residents as well as video of their former properties.) Through these sources he helps readers see what state planners could not: an informal economy that supplemented formal paid work, well-maintained family homes, discreet and functioning communities, and what many residents saw as a "good life." State officials receive considerably less sympathy from Rudin. Federal politicians and officials, in particular, he depicts as dismissive of local concerns, insensitive to expropriates' plight, and impatient to "get on with the job" of park creation. They are, almost without exception, the "bad guys" in the story. Because former officials declined interviews, Rudin must tell their story through state documents and expropriates' recollections. This is unfortunate, as one would like to know more about the motivations and perspective of these high-modernist technicians. The provincial government of Louis Robichaud, a well-known champion of Acadian rights, also comes in for plenty of justified criticism. As "an unqualified supporter of the high modernist vision" (p. 133), Robichaud was able to dismiss the residents' claims, leading many, Acadian and non-Acadian, to vilify him. Richard Hatfield's later Progressive Conservative government (1970-87) appears more responsive to residents' protests, backing off from the "rehabilitation" program, increasing compensation for residents, and personally reaching out to Vautour. Rudin attributes this difference to Hatfield's personality (he was a good listener) and the fact that the park "did not begin on his watch." However, one wonders if he and his cabinet might have learned from two other controversial high-modernist relocation schemes of the late 1960s: one on the St John River, to make way for a hydroelectric dam, and another, in northeastern New Brunswick, to move rural, mostly Acadian, residents to "growth poles."

Ultimately, Rudin has given us a superb case study that imaginatively uses a wide range of sources to provide insights into national-park creation, the nature of state power, community resistance, the social construction of memory, and modern Acadian history.

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